1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

775 **Death.**—At death, the soul becomes a wild ghost if the person has been violently killed and a regular resident of the village of the dead if he has suffered a quiet death. A shaman's soul is translated to the skies. Mourning puts an end to all religious ceremonies and is celebrated by self-laceration, the destruction of property, and daily keening. There 764 is separate burial in formal cemeteries for those who died quietly and [766] those who died violently. The corpse is wrapped in a mat with his weapons and ornaments, and the mat is hung in a shallow grave covered [765] by poles (fig. 22). Food and drink are provided for a short period. After the next change of season, the bones are exhumed and placed in a family urn.

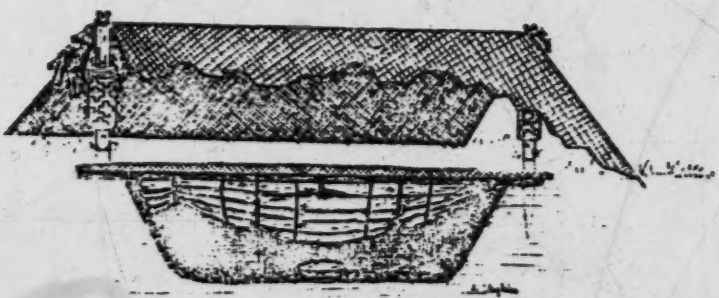

FIGURE 22.—*Carajá* burial. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 16)

WARFARE

726 The *Carajá* are good fighters and have maintained themselves since prehistoric times in a territory surrounded on all sides by warlike enemies. Their usual tactics are waiting outside an enemy village at night and attacking at dawn. In defense, they run to the nearest water, where they [411] are unbeatable. They use the bow and arrow and club, and are skilled [526] wrestlers. They cut off a foot bone of a dead enemy and carry it back [727] to their village; this places them in control of the ghost, who now be- [775] comes a caretaker of the village and is impersonated in a special dry-season ceremony. At one such ceremony there were two *Tapirapé* ghosts, [648] three *Chavante*, one *Cayapó*, and one Neo-Brazilian. Present-day war- [727] fare is largely with the *Chavante*, the *Cayapó*, and the *Canoeiro*. Now and then a Neo-Brazilian may be killed by stealth to avenge a personal grievance. No captives are taken except women and small children, who are treated as full members of the group.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Decorative art is confined to woven designs on baskets and mats, feather ornaments, elaborate masks with superimposed feather designs,

/8 cont./

131 172 comprida and Cachoeira grande are in any case the work of their ancestors. Since the first Araguaia travelers already mention these "inscriptions" as documents of great age, the Karaya must have lived in these regions at least since the sixteenth century (see pp. 91 ff.).

439 [162] Within the Šambioa region, where the river is no longer navigable for ships, there are no Brazilian settlements at present. The savages are therefore completely dependent on the barter trade with the few larger rowboats passing by four to six times annually or the small vessels which maintain communication with São Vincente. They deliver mainly hammocks, field produce, [648] and chickens to the travelers, but have otherwise kept their full 433 independence. Living under far better conditions of existence than the Karayahi, they stand, as far as agriculture is concerned, on a higher level than even the civilized river-dwellers.

648 They live in most bitter enmity with the Kayapo tribes of the left bank, the Kradahõ /Cradaho/, Ušikriṅ, and others. Many [729] abducted women and children of the latter are found in their villages. On the whole, however, they are well treated, the children even adopted into the tribe without further ado.

The relationship of the Šambioa to the settlers has not always been peaceful. Nevertheless, Castelnau was already able to substantiate that these Indians did not deserve the bad reputation which they had among the Goyans at the time. The main guilt for the misdeeds which occurred is in any case to be sought on the side of the foreigners.

609 Their behavior was decidedly hostile in the seventies when the notorious Chief Roco attacked travelers on several occasions and massacred them.

Today it is only the inhabitants of the second village who receive strangers with hostility. Women and children are taken to [911] safety, the warriors stand threateningly on the shore, armed with bows, spears, and clubs, and hardly condescend to barter. In the other villages our reception left little to be desired, once the fleeing women were successfully persuaded to return.

/27 cont./

684 Adultery on the part of the husband is avenged by the closest relatives of the wife.

Everywhere in the social order of the Karaya the endeavor to preserve the peace of family life from any disturbance is prominent. The young people are for that reason kept under strict 836 837 discipline. Virginity is highly prized and protected (4);

[113] 4. Couto Magelhães, Peterm. Mitth., 1876, p. 222.

extramarital intercourse between the sexes is punished with strict 848 penalties and under certain conditions with death. Children originating from such relationships are not, as among other primitive peoples, likewise killed, however, but rather are turned over to the chief's care, like other orphans.

589 /28/ Single persons, distinguished externally from the married [291] ones by the above-mentioned cotton bands, are not obliged to [736] support themselves, but rather are supported by the community. [591] Bachelors and widowers live together in a special hut and take part in hunting expeditions only when they please. Likewise, unmarried and widowed women are excused from supporting themselves. They live in the house of one of their nearest relatives.

589 According to a communication from Couto Magelhães, the 736 latter seem to have some freedom in intercourse with unmarried [836] men: "There are in the Karaya villages men destined to be viri viduarum /men deprived of a wife/. These people have no other occupation; they are supported by the tribe and do not, like the others, undergo the hardships of long travels and raids. To my remark that it did not seem right to me that the community take on the support of these people, Chief Koinama replied that the peace which the families enjoyed because of this far outweighed the effort spent on their support." (Selvagem, p. 116.)

836 For the rest, the unmarried men who wish to turn to the 725 female sex are dependent on intercourse with the captured Kayapo [589] women kept in half-slavery, of which among the Šambioa every village shelters at least a few. They are considered common

/28 cont./

836 property and are offered to ships' crews, despite their usually
●729 most horrible appearance. Unfortunately, one also sees children
used for the same purpose. Here is clearly shown the dualism in
836 the ethics of the savages, whose moral laws apply only to mem-
729 bers of their own tribe. This view, common to all primitive
577 peoples, cannot therefore change our judgment of the morality
[186] of the Karaya in general. When Castelnau doubts this, saying,
[114] "Ce fait (the stern punishment of a transgression against morals) est peu d'accord avec les offres qui étaient fait continuellement a nos gens /this fact is hardly in accord with the offers that were continually made to our men/" (Hist. du voyage, I, p. 446), he overlooks the fact that these "offres" concerned not their own, but foreign women.

855 In spite of the lack of external signs of tenderness, which are absent among all Indians, the treatment of the children is very loving throughout.

854 The smaller ones are continually carried about by the mothers and tended with tireless care, hung with ornaments and
853 painted, etc. They are suckled for an extraordinarily long time.

857 Older children are left entirely to themselves, but in spite of this demonstrate a natural decency and a modesty of behavior that the highly educated offspring of civilized men only all too
858 often lack. It would be unthinkable among the Karaya that children be traded to the settlers, as unfortunately still frequently occurs in other regions of Brazil, especially on the Amazon. Upon the founding of the Collegio Izabel at Leopoldina, whose purpose was to train young Indians and settle them later as colonists, efforts to obtain Karaya children for it were in vain. Since they once allowed themselves to be misled years ago, and some were lured away and abducted by force, all the young people as a rule take flight at the approach of a boat and only with great difficulty are persuaded to return.

764 The fact that the animal decorations put on the grave poles
532 (cf. p. 63) are marks of the family concerned or of a wider kin
602 grouping indicates the existence of totemism, or clan formation. To be sure, nothing more precise is known about this, but the family system discovered among the Arawak by Im Thurn (1) may also hold for the relationship prevailing among the Karaya.

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 175.

/28 cont./

also hold for the relationships prevailing among the Karaya.

621 The village communities composed of such family units, each of which has a particular name, seem to be like gau 476 communities (2). The agricultural land belongs to the whole [923]

[113] 2. Post, Stud. z. Entw. d. Familienrechts /Essay on the Development of Family Law/, p. 83.

[224] and is tilled in common. Hunting and fishing expeditions are [226] also undertaken in common, and the yield in booty, field 622 produce, etc. divided among the families. The chief supervises all of these communal activities and achievements. He is [421] supported by the community; the property of all tribal members [597] belongs to him (3). On the other hand, it is his duty to adopt

[113] 3. Couto Magelhães, Peterm. Mitth., 1876, p. 121.

orphaned children, particularly the sons of those slain in war [178] The personal qualities to which he owes his office today are less [648] prowess in war /29/ than the skill, experience, and linguistic knowledge required to deal with the Whites. Thus, even prisoners [727] of war adopted into the tribe who distinguish themselves at this can achieve the position.

The chief organizes the war and hunting expeditions; he determines the camp sites and the locations of plantings and, after the burning over of the strip of forest (roça) concerned, divides the agricultural land, which is marked off by posts, among the individual families.

622 His effectiveness in the administration of justice is important. 627 In case of quarrels between men he acts as referee, while his wife decides those of the women. It is his duty to bring offenders to account, but he does not inflict the punishment, which, according to the Indian law of retaliation, is a matter for the injured party. Murder or bodily injury are therefore avenged by the relatives of the victim without further ado.

/194 cont./

1. (cont.)
the river in order to make exchanges, and that there is now a Karajá boy among the Kayapó and a Kayapó boy among the Karajá for the purpose of learning the other language and later using it at home, probably refer to these efforts.

The feuds, therefore, continue to this day, and even today women and children are abducted by both sides. Thus, the Šambioá are in constant strife with the Kayapó, the Karajá with the Tapirapé, and the Šavajé with the Canoeiros. Among the Šambioá Ehrenreich found many Kayapó women who are used as prostitutes by the tribe. The same is true of the Tapirapé women among the Karajá. In 1908 their number was small: in the south horde there was one girl, in the north horde three women, a girl, and two boys. These Tapirapé seem not to have exerted any cultural, linguistic, or physical influence, whereas the cultural influence of the Tapirapé on the Karajá in former times must have been very strong, especially at the mouth of the Tapirapé, there was a great number of objects which were not seen in any other Karajá village and which appeared to be foreign.

3. House and Village.

The house (hãtǒ) is built in different ways, depending on the season of the year (dry season, rainy season).

The framework of the dry-season house consists of three arches, one behind the other, each made out of two sticks tied together at the top with bast. Palm fronds serve as covering: the pinnae are bent over to one side; two such fronds are then placed one on top of the other and tied together at the ribs. These fronds are then fastened to the arches from below in such a way that the upper ones cover the lower ones somewhat. The ridge is not finished off; it is not specially covered. About 15 centimeters below the ridge, on either side, a pole is tied parallel to it on the leaf covering (see Pl. 39). These simple huts are about three meters long, two meters wide, and one and a half meters high.

/320 cont./

648 Of course, it is not only the Karajá who abduct women from the enemy; they are exploited in the same manner by the latter.

727 /321/ Slain enemies are left lying. I was unable to find out anything about anthropophagy. Wounded fellow-tribesmen are brought back to the village and treated by the doctor. Captured women and children are used as work slaves; captured boys who do not wish to work are exposed, if they do not themselves run away. In both cases they probably face destruction.

The owner in question (their captor) benefits by the work of the war captives. In return, he gives them food and clothing.

727 Women war captives are also used as village prostitutes. In ex-
548 change for the payment of an arrow they are put at the disposal of the young men of the village as well as of other villages. A permanent claim is acquired by the payment of a net covering to the owner. At present the Karajá have only Tapirapé women as prostitutes; altogether I met only five such women and maidens among them, as well as two small boys. Šavajé women are also supposed to play this role occasionally; these are not abducted women, however, but women who, on trade expeditions, joined the Karajá or were banished because of offenses with them (?). One instance which I am able to explain to myself only in this manner occurred during my visit among the Šavajé, where an obviously pregnant Šavajé girl was handed over to my Karajá to be taken along to their villages.

622 The Karajá are led by chiefs (ĭdjāŏ, dēridŏ, ĭtrĭ). As external insignia they wear the chin tattooing, their wives the large Thevetia neck ornament (see above /see pp. 110 and 122/). Otherwise they have no distinguishing mark of any kind; "one recognizes them by their dignified behavior," Kuriŝí said.

The duties of the chief are the following: He determines and supervises the work in the plantings, the mask festivals and the preparation for them (making the dance masks); he keeps order in the village, settles disputes, decides cases, and supports the poor, widows, and orphans. He determines the fishing and trade expeditions; he decides on expeditions of war. Moreover, he shelters strangers in his house and provides for them,

/343 cont./

194 modifications (2). That the omission of k is regarded as the
562
[191]

2. Ibid., p. 24.

chief characteristic /344/ of the men's language may be illustrated by a joke of Pedro I. Pedro said one day that my companion Adam was a woman because he says sakuba (= jacuba, the Brazilian name for a drink made of farina, rapadura /Port., a form of sugar/, and water); if he were a man, he would have to say šaũbã. Probably the women's dialect with a fuller sound represents an older form of the language. For there can be no question here of a different language which could have originated through the taking in of women captured from alien tribes during
[127] battle. First of all, the taking of alien women (Tapirapé, Kayapó, Šavajé) is too limited for their language to be a possible influence; on the other hand, the deviations from the men's language are too slight to permit viewing the women's language as of foreign origin.

194 In speaking, many syllables are swallowed, especially at the end of words; the mouth is only slightly opened, so that a soft, indistinct speech is produced. Yet they are able to make themselves understood in a whisper far over the water. The intonation is slightly singsong, the manner of speaking uneven. Sometimes the syllables are uttered in rapid succession, then again a syllable is drawn out at length, just as though the speaker were considering how to express himself further. And this goes on in confused alternation, a way of speaking which the Brazilians greatly like to imitate. Perhaps the custom of pronouncing short-ending words long in compounds (mãnã́ -- mãnãũlã́, mãnãdjṹ, etc.) goes back to this.

195 In conversations among themselves the listener accompanies the speech of the other with many nde, nde (= yes), hm̃, hm̃, or he repeats the last word of every sentence. In communicating with Brazilians they like to start the sentences with ãhĩ́ (= there) and to ask after every explanation: sãbẽ́ (= understand?). In

/404 cont./
center stripe. Their women also make pottery. Their language differs from that of the Karajá; the two peoples do not understand each other. The relationship between the Karajá and the Tapirapé seems to have been peaceful in former times. With iron goods the Karajá bartered for net coverings, bows, araras, stone lip-plugs, food, etc. The meeting place was a sandbank in the Rio Tapirapé, opposite a high steep bank, slightly below the place to which the Karajá ordinarily extend their annual fishing expeditions. The Karajá had taken advantage of this opportunity to abduct in secret the women and children in the places stripped of men. As has been mentioned above (p. 263), because of this there was finally a hostile clash between the two tribes about six or seven years ago; since then the Karajá avoid this spot, they no longer go so far upstream. The abducted women are used by the Karajá as slave women for work, as well as village prostitutes; the children are taken into the tribe. /Pl. 69 appears here./ /405/ /Ills. 262 and 263 appear here./

3. Observations in Karajá villages. In the villages of the Karajá I saw a total of two women, three maidens, and two boys from the Tapirapé. They were smaller and more delicate than /Ills. 264 and 265 appear here/ the Karajá. The women wore black incised tattooing on the chins and on the cheeks (see Ill. 262 a, b /see p. 339/). One girl was painted red on the face (Ill. 263).

In the way of objects that were supposed to come from the Tapirapé, I acquired the following in the Karajá villages near the Tapirapé mouth: the comb (kŭwaĭ; Pl. 69, Ill. 1); its method of construction is identical with that of the Karajá, but the very regular plaiting pattern is different from that of the Karajá. The spindle (Ill. 264) with the double-conical wax whorl does not differ in any way from those of the Karajá.

The club (ĭwŭrã, Ill. 265) is identical in form with the round clubs of the Karajá. One side of the front half of the club is grooved and flanked on either side by a raised strip which bears groups of cross-lines. The cylinder on the handle has three grooves; the handle is grooved and likewise has two strips with cross-lines and depressions.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 339]

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

not afflicted. Therefore, they have hidden their villages far away from the slimy trail of the only "civilization" they know, and do not wish to reveal their location. But they, too, well know the great superiority of steel implements over their stone utensils, so desire to obtain them, which they do indirectly through the Karayáhy. They are not unwise in their generation. They do not desire to receive, in its entirety, the "civilization" available to them, for it has been demonstrated to them that its evils outweigh its blessings. Therefore they try to catspaw civilization's good things and leave its evil things. What a pity it is that a civilization, which is the best fruit of the Gospel of Christ, should not have reached the Karayá!

The Sambiõa live in much larger, cleaner, and more orderly villages than the Karayáhy, and are better fed. They also build better huts than the Karayáhy, and arrange them in regular streets. They have four large villages, located between Pau de Arco and the falls of S. Miguel. They trade hammocks, vegetables, fruits, fowls, and other produce for such articles made by civilized men as they desire. As regards agriculture, they are but little behind the semi-barbarous Brazilians of the far interior. They have many slaves, which are women and children stolen from other tribes with whom they were at war.

Only the inhabitants of the second Sambiõa village are hostile to strangers. When such appear at their port, the women and children are sent to a safe place, while the warriors, fully armed, assemble at the water's edge and assume a threatening attitude. It is necessary to be cautious in approaching them, though they dare not attack a large canoe full of men armed with repeating rifles. They greatly fear these weapons, believing that the rifleman can continue to fire indefinitely without reloading. The villages are always situated distant from the landing-place; and though they will allow the traveler to visit them, he must be on his guard.

The reception at the landing is interesting and exciting. The naked, bronze-bodied men are assembled in force. Many

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

the adulterous
woman is punished by her husband either by flogging, or by 684
torturing with fire brands. It is said that she is sometimes
even burned to death. The adulterous man is punished by
the nearest relatives of his wife. But among these people as,
unfortunately, among the higher races, far greater license is
allowed the man than the woman.

The Karayá seem to cherish an earnest desire to preserve 593
the integrity of the family, and to guard it against disturbing
influences of every kind. Children are reared with strictness 834
and maidenhood is respected; and any transgression of the
tribal laws regarding the relations of the sexes is severely
punished—even with death, in some cases. But children born 848
out of wedlock are not put to death, as is usually done among
savage peoples, but instead, are, like other orphans, reared
by the chief of the village as his own children.

The unmarried individuals, who are distinguished from the 589
married by the previously described wristlets and armlets,
are not required to support themselves, but are provided for
by the community as a whole. The bachelors and widowers
live together in a sort of "bachelors' hall"—a separate hut—
and participate in the hunting and fishing and other occupa-
tions of the tribe only as they feel inclined. But the un-
married women, while, like the single men, not required to
work, are not segregated, for they dwell in the huts of their
nearest relatives. These females are allowed certain liberties 836
with the unmarried men in order that they may not perturb 548
the married men and their families. They are the village
prostitutes. By this arrangement the single men, on the
other hand, are kept from endangering family life. Women [727]
taken captive from the enemy in intertribal wars, are retained
as prostitutes and semi-slaves. These unhappy females are
the common property of all the men, the married as well as
the single. Captive female children share the same sad fate;
and probably also the children born of captive parents.

We see in these customs, the dualism of the "ethics" of 577
the savage. They are moral, if we may use this term, only
when their own well-being is at stake—when it is a question

9:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date) 1925
SP9 Caraja SP9
Cayapo SP11

to bleed freely in order that it will weaken before it can travel far. Barbed arrows are used for killing monkeys and shooting fish. The tail of the sting-ray is also used for tipping arrows.

FIG. 99.—Cayapó rattle

Formidable objects are the clubs that the Caraja tribesmen use to kill captives, as well as members of their own tribe who have broken taboo or who are too old to make the periodic migrations. These clubs vaguely resemble a baseball bat, except that they are heavier and a trifle thicker at the end. They are made of hard-wood, the long handle decorated with a beautiful covering of black and white woven canework in designs similar to those of the spears, and the heavy end is stained a sinister red with the juice of the urucú-berry and the blood of its victim.

The Cayapó clubs are of the same heavy wood,